

discussion and reprobation of it, the slaveholders in Congress would not, they say, have abandoned their seats as representatives, or the slaveholders out of Congress passed secession ordinances. In a word, if there were no slavery, there would be no rebellion. There is slavery, and there is rebellion. Abolish slavery, and you destroy rebellion. Alexander H. Stephens, of Georgia, himself asserts this. "Slavery," says he, "has been the immediate cause of the late rupture, and the present revolution. Jefferson saw that the old Union would, some day, break upon this rock. He was right. The prevailing idea admitted by him, and the majority of the statesmen of his time, was that the slavery of the African race was a violation of the rights of man. But these ideas were fundamentally false. Our new government is based on quite opposite ideas. The negro, in virtue of his nature and by reason of the curse of Canaan, is made for the position which he occupies in our system. The stone which the builders rejected is become the chief stone of the corner of our new structure."

Aye, men of Massachusetts, the cause of the war is the existence of slavery; it is the "irrepressible conflict"—argued by nature, sanctified by justice, and ever existing—between men who own themselves, and men who claim title to their fellows, "by reason of the curse of Canaan," between despotism and its ill-starred prey; between justice and oppression. It is this that has plunged the nation into an intestine war; it is this that makes the land sodden with blood, and the air heavy with the dew of death.

The utterance of these opinions, by any course consequent upon entertaining them, may or may not raise against me the cry of Abolitionist, Black Republican, negro-worshipper, and the like. I am wholly indifferent to this. The sentiments I now express may be Abolitionist, for all I know or care. They are mine, at least, and the result of my earnest, honest, earnest conviction. I hold them to be Democratic, too, in the best sense of that word. I deny that democracy in America or elsewhere means slavery, in any form or degree, or under any circumstances. He is not a genuine Democrat who prefers slavery before liberty, or who, when the latter opportunity presents itself, is ready to strike freedom. Oppression is the same world over; it differs only in its victims. In England it fastens upon an Irishman; in the United States upon an African. The man who to-day would rob a negro of the result of his labor or skill, would, to-morrow, rob a white man of his property, or the exiled or self-expatriated Irishman who apologizes for and deals tenderly with the enslavement of a race because it has a black skin, is not far removed in sympathy, spirit or principle, from the aristocratic oppressors of his own people. He has no warrant to speak for a land, every acre of which is cursed with the imprint of tyranny's heel. Daniel O'Connell nor taught nor believed in such democracy. When he contended with lords and commoners for Catholic emancipation, or any of the inalienable rights of man, if his opponents turned to written constitutions to find authority for their position, and for the federal forces, and hurled at him, "Thus saith the Lord," this man of the people, this sturdy democrat, this genuine son of Erin, silenced their sophistry with, "Thus saith the Lord." To all men born in Ireland, claiming to be democrats, and striving in this crisis of the world to be free, to influence the conduct of their countrymen, I say, Go, no wiser thou, and do likewise.

GEN. MCLELLAN REMOVED.

At the last hour—too late to save his friends, but not too late, we trust, to save the country—the President has relieved Gen. McClellan from the command of the Army of the Potomac. Gen. AMBROSE E. BURNSIDE succeeds him. Gen. McClellan retires to the present from what is by courtesy termed active service.

We are among those who hailed the summons of Gen. McClellan to the chief command under the President of our armies with outspoken hope and joy. We trusted in him as the predestined right arm of the Republic in the deadly struggle with his traitorous foes. It took months of stubborn, criminal, fatal paralysis, in the face of a foe contemptible in every element of strength save capacity to hoodwink our Commanding General, to cure us of that fond delusion. Not till we had seen and felt and realized that our fondly imagined Marvellous had chronic paralysis for getting on, did our faith in him waver. But when another month had passed away ingloriously, while he held One Hundred and Fifty Thousand brave Volunteers idly shivering through the winter in camps, while our country was brought to the brink of ruin by the imminent danger of a war with Great Britain, which would soon have widened into a struggle with all Western Europe, and while Fifty Thousand Rebels beleaguered Washington, obstructed the Baltimore and Ohio railroad, kept the Potomac closed against our shipping, that faith was shaken. And when at last, three weeks after the time set for the movement in pre-emptory orders given him four weeks earlier yet, he advanced to Centerville, and found nothing but mule manure to impels his progress, we gave him wholly up, and the faith that had yielded so slowly to overwhelming evidence could never be revived.

It does not necessarily impeach the loyalty of Gen. McClellan that the Rebels have uniformly spoken of him as our greatest General, while every sympathizer with treason in the loyal States has been a noisy and constant idolater. The greater and more obvious his shortcomings, the louder and more unmeasured have been their commendations. They saw that he was working out their cherished ends, and that sufficed them, no matter what were his own purposes. What Gen. Howe and Sir Henry Clinton were to our Revolution, he was to the Slaveholders' Rebellion. Those Generals lacked not loyalty but energy. They did not comprehend that every hour that passes idly and uneventfully in a war of insurrection is a clear gain to the insurgents, and a corresponding loss to the party that is free. Generals always squander the golden opportunity. If they advance into the enemy's country, they halt just when they should press on, and wait till the ravages of disease and that desultory, indecisive warfare of pickets and outposts, wherein the advantage is always and inevitably with the party that is familiar with the ground, has seriously thinned the ranks of the invading army, while those of its antagonist have been swelled by the levy en masse to a superiority of numbers, when the General who should maintain the offensive in the face of the enemy, the invader who hesitates, and fears to strike, and stands on the defensive, is doomed.

It has been General McClellan's misfortune, and still more the country's, that his intimate friends and trusted counsellors were nearly all at heart opposed to an unqualified disclosure of his faults. They are Unionists after their fashion—they would not have the Republic divided and ruined—but they have no conception of, no liking for, any other settlement of our troubles than one which shall be based on compromise—that is, buying off the traitors from persistence in their treason by new concessions, new guarantees, to Slavery. Their ideal bond of Union is a chain around the slave's neck, with a gag in every freeman's mouth. These men desired the War spun out through months of prodigal but fruitless inaction until the exhausted, discouraged people should be driven in desperation to call on our Seymours, Joel Parkers and Fernando Woods to end the struggle by giving the rebel chiefs whatever they might be pleased to ask as the price of their consent to resume the government of the country. The fact that these chiefs had stubbornly refused to resume the ownership of the Union on any terms has been willfully ignored by these politicians, who could not believe, even with their experience at Charleston in 1860 to enlighten them, that the Rebels prefer absolute, indefeasible rule over half the country to a qualified and precarious say over the whole of it. But the truth is that the slaveholding oligarchy are weary of the sham whereby they are designated Democrats, and disgusted with their alliance with the Five Points, the Hook, and other dens of coarse depravity and debauchery at the North. Such associations give them an uncertain footing of disgust and self-abasement, from which they have long wished to be delivered. They have seized upon the present as their opportunity, and will not be persuaded to forego it.

Gen. Burnside fought gallantly at Bull Run; he led ably and victoriously the brilliant campaign in North Carolina; he was called thence to relieve McClellan after his reverses before Richmond; and he ably commanded the left wing at the battle of Antietam. Thus far, he has done well, whatever work has been allotted him: we trust he will, in his new and more arduous position, justify the hopes and retrieve the fortunes of his country. That he will at all events aid Gen. McClellan's cardinal error of treating the order of his superior as no more waste paper, we are confident. If he cannot obey,

he will ask to be relieved from his command. And, should the Rebel Grand Army have once completely eluded our forces, through Gen. McClellan's persistent disobedience to the express orders of the General-in-Chief and even of the President, and marching around our slowly-creeping front, has placed himself once more between our advance and Richmond, we believe that he will yet be compelled to fight a decisive battle before going into winter-quarters or abandon Virginia to the arms of the Union. But we shall judge Gen. Burnside by results, not by his prepossessions. Should he spend the coming Winter as fruitlessly, ingloriously as Gen. McClellan did the last, it would be idle to call in the Spring for his removal as openly and earnestly as we did for that of his halting predecessor.—N. Y. Tribune.

THE REMOVAL OF GENERAL MCLELLAN

From the post of commander of the principal army of the Republic shows that President Lincoln has at last been aroused to a sense of the true state of affairs, and that he admits the necessity that exists for more active operations in the field than the country had any reason to expect, so long as the head of the Federal Army in Virginia should be paralyzed. Gen. McClellan is a brave man, in the ordinary sense of the word, but he is deficient in that moral courage without which no soldier is fit to hold high command. This is the most favorable view that can be taken of his character; for, on any other supposition, he has been false to his trust, and we do not wish to believe that he is dishonest. There has been in him the power to render the greatest service to his country, and on each occasion he has proved unequal to the work that was expected of him, and which a superior leader would have accomplished. In October, 1861, he might have advanced against the rebels, and have driven them from the vicinity of Washington; but he failed to do so, and for months after the disaster at Ball's Bluff—a disaster for which he should have been held responsible—he remained idle. When compelled to move, his proceedings on all occasions were of so dilatory a nature that defeat was inevitable, and he never had the remotest chance of taking Richmond after he sat down before the half-built and half-manned works of the rebels at Yorktown. A commander of average abilities would have been in Richmond in a month from the opening of the campaign. It appears that the whole number of men that he had at his disposal, at first it was an enormous force, one-half had disappeared when he found himself lying under the protection of the gunboats on James River, after a series of disasters that were due solely to his incapacity to lead brave men otherwise than to defeat and destruction. He is not a coward, but he is a man who, during the whole of the Richmond campaign he never, on any one occasion, showed the talent of a fifth-rate commander of the Austrian school of war. A third opportunity was given him to justify the good opinion of his countrymen when he was placed at the head of the Federal forces in Maryland; and at first it did seem that adversity had had a good effect on him. He drove the rebels out of Maryland, defeating them at Antietam. But no sooner had he won a great battle, than he fell back upon his old system of malingering, and threw away the fruits of success. He refused to reap the field which he had won, and no American ever had a better chance for winning the first place in the confidence of his country, and the admiration of the world, than Gen. McClellan after his Maryland triumph; but he deliberately resolved to forfeit the opportunity that was presented him for the sake of his own idleness. 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